

# PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 696

October 28, 1949

THREEPENCE

The most futile campaign ever launched

## THE FARCE OF CIVIL DEFENCE

Official preparations for  
national suicide

**N**EXT Tuesday the Government will open a recruiting campaign for Civil Defence. Its ostensible purpose is to create a voluntary Civil Defence Force, or ARP, trained to deal with atomic attacks. It will be the most futile campaign ever launched. For there is no defence against atomic attacks.

This campaign marks a further stage of supine acquiescence in the probability of World War Three. In theory a scheme for safeguarding the population, it is in fact nothing but an elaborate preparation for national suicide.

It is the measure of the Government's failure to make any serious and constructive effort towards world peace, and of the public's defeatism in face of international discord.

The Government knows quite well, what the overwhelming weight of scientific opinion has affirmed, that in the event of atomic attacks upon Britain (the most thickly populated and vulnerable country of Europe) there are no means whatsoever of saving the population from wholesale destruction, and that all these measures, operated with maximum efficiency, could make no more than an infinitesimal difference to the result.

### A GESTURE OF FATALISM

If the intention behind these preparations is to lull the public into a false sense of security, they may succeed in the case of those who are too ignorant or unimaginative to have realised the meaning of atomic warfare.

But among those who have any imagination at all, or any knowledge of the published facts about atomic explosions, all this ridiculous parade of defensive organisation is "calculated to spread gloom and despondency."

It can have no effect but to encourage a fatalistic war mentality, intensify the existing defeatism and pessimism, counteract all attempts to create an attitude of hopefulness towards the future, and instead, raise a cloud of gloom and apprehension over the nation which may well paralyse all efforts to national recovery.

### A PRETENTIOUS STRUCTURE

This defence organisation will be given all possible publicity in the recruiting campaign, in order that by mere enumeration of details it may present an appearance of efficiency and forethought.

Ten days ago Press representatives were invited to the Home Office Civil Defence School at Easingwold, Yorks., so that the scientific theories about defence, and the various new defensive gadgets, might be explained.

Examination of the details, however, only serves to emphasise their futility.

Doubtless on the principle that there is comfort in arithmetic, we are told to how many hundreds of yards from an explosion exposed skin can be severely burnt, or a wooden door ignited; within what-sized area all buildings would be damaged beyond repair, and within what area they would need, respectively, major repairs or only first-aid repairs, etc., etc.

The newly-invented instruments are described, such as the meter for detecting the presence of radio-activity, the clever little portable personnel-contamination meter which is shaped like a fountain pen, and so forth, and promises of their mass produc-

tion are published, to help the nation to sleep o' nights.

And we learn that at the end of a 3½-weeks' course of study of atomic matters an examination will be held and successful students given a diploma.

(It is not stated whether the diploma carries a degree; but it is to be hoped that the holders will be allowed to put the letters "N.S." after their names, to indicate that they are fully-trained Nation-Savers.)

### THE PRACTICAL ALTERNATIVE: ABOLISH "DEFENCE"

What is the practical and positive alternative to these negative, defeatist and palpably futile preparations for a "defence" which is no defence?

It is to abolish this so-called "defence" altogether.

Mr. Attlee said last Monday—"We all know the danger of inadequate defence."

We certainly do. But we also know, and are reminded continually by scientists, that there is no such thing as adequate defence.

What we do not know is how our danger could possibly be any greater if we had no "defences" at all.

"National Defence" does not diminish danger, but invites it.

### UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT OUR ONLY HOPE

Apart from all question of pacifist principles, the only practical step towards national safety is unilateral disarmament.

If it be said that disarmament would expose us to a possible aggressor, there are two answers:

One is that we are already exposed to him now, and no amount of Civil Defence Diplomas could prevent him from doing his worst.

The other is that, undefended, we should at least prove that he had nothing to fear from us.

And that is of paramount importance, for fear is the sole cause of the present international tension, which can only be relaxed by a genuine gesture of goodwill.

### LET US MAKE THAT GESTURE

The Government has failed to make any such gesture. It is determined to pursue its Gadarene course in an arms race which can have no logical result but a war in which the population of this country would be decimated and its economic life brought to a standstill.

The members of the Peace Pledge Union are setting that example. By renouncing war they have, as far as they are personally concerned, already accomplished unilateral disarmament.

It only remains for a sufficient number of people to take this, the only sane, practical step to peace, and compel the Government to follow where they lead.

## JUST A REMINDER



(Photos: The Broom, USA)

On the night of Feb. 13, 1945, the population of Dresden (650,000) was swollen by an additional 500,000 refugees fleeing before the advancing Russian army.

At about 9.30 p.m. British and American bombers appeared over the city. The first wave dropped phosphorus bombs followed by waves of bombers carrying high explosives. A Swiss estimate of the casualties was between 250,000 and 300,000.

The fires blazed for days. All the city's schools, hospitals and waterworks had been destroyed.

The unidentified bodies were heaped upon girders and cremated in the streets as our pictures show.

We produce these pictures as a reminder of the fact that the war for which the nations are now preparing will bring upon British cities destruction far worse than this.

## THIS ATOMIC ARP NONSENSE

By Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS

A LOT of nonsense has been published recently in the Press, both here and in the USA, soft-peddalling the effects of atom bombs and implying that after all atomic warfare is not so much to be dreaded as people have supposed.

A "Civil Defence expert," Lt.-Cmdr. F. A. Eden is reported by the News Chronicle, for example, as having said that "reports from Japan and places where the bomb was dropped have been very much exaggerated."

It is difficult to know what is meant by this, unless the truth of the Government statement on the effects of the atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki (published by HMSO) is being questioned, or unless it is being argued that 80,000 deaths from one bomb is really nothing to worry about.

The exact facts are known and published.

The conclusion arrived at by a group of atomic scientists in Birmingham who have studied this question and have reported their findings in "Atomic Scientists News," July 1949, is that even if the only atomic weapons to be considered are those of the same type as were used in Japan, and even if the most elaborate civil defence preparations were made, the disaster would still be one of the first magnitude, which could not be faced with confidence, let alone complacency.

### MAUD ROWNTREE

BY this time many of our readers will have learnt of the death last week of Maud Rowntree, who had acted as Treasurer of the Peace Pledge Union since the death of her husband, Maurice, and the news will have brought a deep sense of loss to all those in this and other countries who knew her as an outstanding example of the pacifist way of life.

The cremation took place last Friday, and her ashes were buried in Maurice's grave at Spicelands. There will be a memorial meeting at Friends' House, Euston Road, at 3 p.m. on Monday, October 31, to which all her friends are invited.

Next week we shall publish a more adequate appreciation of the endearing personality of this truly Christian pacifist by one of her well-known and intimate friends.



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## If it ends

**B**EFORE these words appear in print, Parliament will have debated conscription.

There is much talk these days about ending conscription—not for any reasons which pacifists would regard as good, but merely on the grounds that it is wasteful and ineffectual in a military sense.

It is very unlikely that conscription will be dropped. But we think it worth our while to assume the possibility that it might be, if only in order to face this important question:

If conscription is dropped, what will the conscientious objector do with his objection?

Will he then be deprived of all means of protesting against military service or witnessing to his pacifist faith?

If so, we should find ourselves in a curious predicament: we should be tempted secretly to desire the indefinite continuation of conscription, to which we object, so as to keep the younger generation of pacifists up to the mark. Which would be embarrassing.

The fact is, the problem of how to extend and strengthen our pacifist activities is already with us. We stand in need of a more energetic propaganda, and we should not have to rely upon the external stimulus of legal opposition to arouse us into a constant protest against war.

During a recent conversation with a distinguished French pacifist, we learnt that there is in that country a number of pacifists who do not desire the legal recognition of conscientious objection, because they feel it would make things too easy for pacifists.

The French pacifist movement is in its early stages, and there is perhaps something to be said for the idea that a spot of persecution is necessary to get a young movement properly going, for the same reason that one sometimes has to smack a new-born baby.

But the British pacifist movement is getting a big boy now. It is the pioneer movement. And pacifism should not have to depend upon magistrates and policemen to keep it supplied with vitality. It is a poor car which won't keep moving unless its self-starter is perpetually kicked.

The blood of the martyrs may be the seed of the Church, but you can't live on seeds. There must be a harvest some time or other or the seed is wasted. If the early Christians had remained for ever mixed up with the lions in the arena we should have had no Church.

Some time or other we must cease to be on the defensive and carry the peace into the enemy's camp.

We were recently reminded of how, before the war, when Neville Chamberlain was asked what his government would do with conscientious objectors if war came, he replied—"Kill them with kindness, I suppose."

And did he? We believe the report of our death is exaggerated, and that we are not dead or even moribund. But can we prove it?

There is no mistaking the kindness. There are no pacifist martyrs in this country. Throughout the war, the editor of Peace News was free to express sentiments far stronger than those for the writing of which three successive editors of The Tribunal were arrested under the Defence of the Realm Act in the First World War.

This increasing freedom of opinion is indeed the test of whether the pacifist movement is to be a positive force or not.

At a time when in some countries the refusal of military service means death, the British CO has to all intents and purposes won his freedom.

The question for him now is—Where do I go from here?

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

# Commentary

"Answer!" (came there none)

**I**F pacifists ever rejoiced at another's discomfiture we might have expressed approval when Defence Minister A. V. Alexander was badgered by both sides to say what would be the increased cost of Defence as a result of devaluation.

As it is, of course, we are sorry for him. For he hadn't the remotest idea.

Emrys Hughes and Mr. Swinger were told it was not possible to estimate the effect. Pressed further, Mr. Alexander said that prices of raw materials, such as non-ferrous metals, had not yet settled down.

Mr. Eden asked how many months or years we had to wait before they did settle down, to which Mr. Alexander replied that the matter was well in hand.

Mr. Wyatt asked why, if they could work out in detail the increased cost of living, they couldn't work out in similar detail the increased cost of arms. Silence ensuing, hon. members shouted "Answer!" and Alexander said he did not accept that interpretation.

Major Legge-Bourke wanted assurance that officers and other ranks would have their pay made up, but the only answer the hon. and gallant Member got was from the hon. and ungentlemanly Member Mrs. Manning, who said, "Money for jam."

## Blank cheque

**M**R. SCOLLAN summed up all the answers by assuming that his right hon. Friend's Department was totally unable to control the estimates, and simply gave the Services a blank cheque.

The Minister replied that his hon. Friend was quite wrong, and that he (the Minister) had been in public life too long to be led into traps.

But we have been in terrestrial life too long not to know that whereas the cost of living is always controlled, the cost of killing never is, for the fighting forces have the matter well in hand.

## Africans will be pleased

**D**R. MALAN is proceeding briskly with his policy of humiliating the Africans by various measures of colour-segregation. He now proposes to abolish the non-European vote in Cape Province and to stop non-European students mingling with European students at Cape Town and Witwatersrand Universities.

However, Africans should be consoled by the news that the S.A. Government is about to increase its naval strength by the purchase of two destroyers—doubtless with a view to making South Africa even yet safer for democracy.

## Army of occupation

**I**T is about eight centuries since the previous foreign army made itself at home on this island. One would have thought, therefore, that the indefinitely prolonged visit of an American army of occupation would arouse public inquisitiveness.

It has not done so. The Press appears to play down all matters concerning its presence in our midst and all references to it appear to be officially discouraged. The recent crashing of a U.S. bomber with its

load of bombs could hardly avoid notice, but the publicity given to it was trivial compared with other catastrophes of far less magnitude.

Last week Mr. Platts-Mills got from Mr. Henderson the reply that the personnel of the U.S. Army Air Force stationed here was about 7,000, but the Minister "was unable to say" when they were going to leave. When he asked whether the Government would now invite the U.S. Government to remove from British soil the HQ of the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Navy in the E. Atlantic and the Mediterranean, now established in London, Mr. Bevin bluntly said "No."

The Foreign Secretary and the Air Secretary know their place. Satellite Governments do not bother the boss with irritating questions.

## Farce—still running

**S**OME farces, like "Charlie's Aunt," are good enough to go on running indefinitely. But others, like "Disarmament Conference," no longer draw.

This old thing was played again last week on the Security Council stage, when Russia vetoed the adoption of the report of the Conventional Armaments Commission, which embodies the majority view. The Press announced that this was Russia's 39th veto. We hope her 40th will be as apt.

"Conventional" is right. Seeing that the "disarmament" proposed by the report was nothing but a pointless limitation of certain arms, there is no reason why anybody shouldn't veto the thing, for it had itself already vetoed disarmament.

The News Chronicle report carried the headline—"UNO hears Malik use same old arguments." But Malik was refusing to endorse the principle that the atom bomb be handled separately from the general question of arms reduction. That was a

much younger argument than those he had to listen to.

The farce of disarmament proposals which indicate no intention of disarming has been played long enough to bored houses and should be taken off.

## The rising price of economy

**N**O one expected the Government's arms cut to be more than negligible. But we did expect that at least the final estimate would show a reduction, actually it shows an increase.

The budgeted figure was £760 million. The "cut" is £30 million. Against this, however, must now be placed the unestimated increase of £40 million for the defence of Hong Kong. Add to this the increased costs resulting from devaluation and we find we have economised by spending an additional £10 million plus £x.

The cuts on housing, education and school meals, however, are real ones.

## Thanks in anticipation

**R**EADERS will appreciate the difficulty in which we find ourselves whenever an important event occurs between the day of going to press and the day of publication.

It's awkward enough anyway to have to write about a coming event as if you were writing afterwards. It makes one feel slightly four-dimensional and disembodied.

But this week is unusually fractious. The Conscription Debate takes place last Wednesday, that is, it took place tomorrow. And if the Government should be so thoughtless as to abolish conscription about half the contents of this issue will be devalued.

It would help considerably, however, if all readers would endeavour as far as possible to confine the more outstanding events of their lives—such as celebrating centenaries, committing murders, starting or stopping a World War, or any other major news-items they may contemplate—to the week-end. Thank you.

## 'SINCERELY TO LABOUR FOR THEIR GOOD'

By Bernard Withers

Secretary to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

**T**HE many voluntary associations which Englishmen are so fond of forming can be divided into two classes.

There are those which have programmes for a sick society, blue prints for utopia; which are concerned with converting the world; which make large demands and offer even larger rewards. Their attitude may be expressed—"I want everyone to be like me."

There are others which accept an admittedly unsatisfactory world and are inspired by the opposite attitude: "I want you to be yourself, to follow your own conscience, develop your own personality, work out your own salvation." That attitude, in a time when everyone is offering everybody else the one and only recipe for individual, national or international salvation, and abusing all others, is tragically rare.

Such an attitude inspires the work of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

Its objective does not lie, conveniently remote, in the rosy dawn of a new world, or

even of another world; but here and now, it maintains the value of the individual person, and his right and duty to follow the inner guide called conscience.

Its function is to discharge the duty which properly belongs to the majority: that of securing the fullest freedom to the minority.

Its achievement is that, in so doing, it safeguards the spirit of democracy itself.

And the reward of those who give their services, their time and their money to support its work is expressed in the words of John Woolman, pattern for the conscientious objector in every age: "True charity is an excellent virtue; and sincerely to labour for their good, whose belief in all points doth not agree with ours, is a happy state."

## They make the CBCO

**T**HE following organisations are represented on the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors:

Society of Friends;  
Peace Pledge Union;  
Fellowship of Reconciliation;  
Independent Labour Party;  
Women's Co-operative Guild;  
Labour Pacifist Fellowship;  
Methodist Peace Fellowship;  
Anglican Pacifist Fellowship;  
Presbyterian Pacifist Group;  
Churches of Christ Pacifist Fellowship;  
Congregational Pacifist Crusade;  
Baptist Peace Fellowship;  
Pax;  
Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units;  
Peace Assn. of Christian Scientists;  
Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship.

## HOP-PICKING HELPS

**D**URING the summer a reader wrote: "I'm hop-picking this year chiefly because I'm anxious to make a contribution to the Forward Fund. . . . I'll be sending a year's subscription (of 1s. a week to the Fund) when I finish hop-picking."

Thank you, hop-picker, for the £2 12s. sent this week—and all the other friends who are doing that "little extra" for Peace News.

£500 in addition to the £1,000 we need to balance our budget would make possible the setting up of a circulation department, with a full-time worker helping our readers to build up that 20,000 circulation which would mean an 8-page paper every week. An 8-page paper with a 20,000 circulation would attract more advertisement revenue enabling us to bring the price down to 2d. This would attract more casual sales which might easily boost our circulation to 30,000 a week.

A voice at my elbow says "Wake up! Here are this week's Forward Fund figures."

## THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Oct. 14: £10 1s. 1d.  
Total for 1949: £431 12s. 2d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

## ARCHDEACON HARTILL on

# The Russian Atomic Bomb

**PERCY HARTILL**, Archdeacon of Stoke, recently refused the use of his church for a "Battle of Britain" service. Of about 100 letters which he received as a result of his protest being published in the national Press, three-quarters were favourable, including four from ex-RAF men.

**W**HEN the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima in 1945, even a world which had grown used to war was shocked.

Non-pacifist bishops denounced the act: a Dean refused a Cathedral service for VJ day as a protest: and a prominent religious newspaper declared not only that it was itself an evil action but that it revealed the direction in which we were travelling.

A commission of American churches expressed penitence, and there seemed to be a hope that the world was beginning to see that war could never be an instrument of righteousness.

**L**ATER, however, men began to get used to the idea of atomic warfare: people began to hint that there might even be very rare circumstances in which it would be right to resort to it again.

Therefore it was legitimate for the United States (and perhaps Britain) to manufacture stocks of atom bombs. We were bidden to be thankful that the American bombs were in the hands of a nation that would never use them irresponsibly—and it was conveniently forgotten that in the judgement of many military authorities as well as of the moralists that nation had already used them irresponsibly.

**T**HEN the United States produced her scheme of international control—a scheme which in the judgement of Lord Hankey "involves a surrender of national rights and liberty to an untried interna-

tional authority on a scale never dreamed of."

The scheme involved long and difficult operations before the control would be effective; and to quote Lord Hankey again—"until all that is accomplished the USA will not undertake to cease the manufacture of bombs, to dispose of existing stocks, or to give ADA full scientific information."

Not unnaturally the USSR rejected the proposal; and then we were told that that proved the Soviet's aggressive intentions. So we were lulled into the security of believing that America's atom bombs were the safeguards of the world's peace!

**N**OW Russia has the bomb and all that facade of illusion is shattered. We are back where we were in August 1945: and it is plain beyond doubt that another war will be an atomic war or worse. The pretence that war can ever be an instrument of righteousness or "the lesser of two evils" is exposed.

As a Christian pacifist I believe we should be glad that Russia has the bomb, because it brings us back to an attitude of realism.

There are only two alternatives now—either an atomic armaments race, which the lesson of history tells us must culminate in a war which will finally destroy Western civilisation; or we must totally renounce war and return to Christ's method of meeting evil with good.

It is for us to take advantage of the opportunity and demonstrate that modern war is the denial not only of morality but of reason.

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## WORLD NEWS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO SAY "NO" TO WAR

ON BOTH SIDES  
OF THE BAMBOO  
CURTAIN

With her husband and other COs, Elizabeth Hughes worked behind the Communist lines in China. COs were also at work under the Quaker star behind the Nationalist lines. Only their refusal to bear arms and their desire to help the common people made it possible to break down suspicion.

By ELIZABETH HUGHES

THE FRIENDS AMBULANCE UNIT, under its new name, Friends Service Unit, continues the impartial relief and medical work started in China in 1941, and whilst conditions and communications at the time of writing are difficult, some valuable work is being done in the projects under FSU control.

It was difficult to work on both sides of the "bamboo curtain": apart from the physical difficulties of crossing the lines and of obtaining the necessary permission to proceed to Communist areas.

The Communists had to be convinced that we were eager to help even though we were not Communists, that although we were Christians we were not missionaries, and that although we would not fight we would be willing to treat wounded soldiers.

The Medical Team, of which I was a member, went to Yanan, then the Communist "Capital," and worked in the First International Peace Hospital—the cave hospital, from December 1946. We were treated with great courtesy, and received invitations to feasts and dances from Party, Army and local Government notabilities.

## Meeting with Mao

The feast given by Chairman Mao Tze Tung for the foreign New Year was attended by members of seven nations, the Chinese including the famous Generals Chou En Lai and Chu Teh.

In March 1947, the Nationalists attacked the town; the hospital and FSU team left for the countryside north of Yanan, and for the next year walked from place to place as military needs dictated, setting up makeshift hospital arrangements and then packing up and moving on. Even during these troubled times, every effort was made to make our journeys as comfortable as possible.

Since those days of intense civil war, the Communists have occupied the whole of the important cities and coastline, and FSU headquarters and projects are now in Communist areas. News is brief, but it is to be hoped that when conditions become more settled, and authority for travel to and from China is granted again, the supply of medical needs and personnel will be possible.

GAOLED COs IN 4 COUNTRIES  
London demonstration  
planned

FOUR Embassies are to be visited by London Area pacifists, accompanied by a poster parade, on November 11, 1949, to protest at the imprisonment of COs in the USA, France, Italy and Greece.

The London Area Organiser, Molly Bartlett is asking members of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Friends Peace Committee to co-operate. Paraders and others who will help to distribute leaflets are asked to meet at the North-West corner of Grosvenor Square (North Audley St.) W.1, at 5.45 p.m. and if possible to send their names in advance to Hugh Brock, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4 (STA 2262).

The parade is timed to end so that those who wish to do so may proceed to the No Conscription Council's Conference taking place that evening.

A "CO WEEK" message  
from Garry Davis

Garry Davis, "World Citizen No. 1" who was recently imprisoned as a result of his support for French COs, has welcomed the opportunity of contributing to this CO Week number of Peace News. He writes:

THE link between conscientious objection 1949-style and the recent technique of non-violence given concrete proof by Mahatma Gandhi can, in my opinion, be clearly forged by disinterested, sincere and courageous men aware of their responsibilities not on a national plane but on a human plane.

It seems to me that Russia's possession of the atomic bomb makes our position crystal clear. Many of us were no doubt counting heavily on the monopoly of the Occident of the atomic bomb in our manifestations of peace, brotherhood, love for our fellow men or their political equivalent—World Government.

Today this compromise with violence is no longer valid. Christians, pacifists, believers in human rights, men simply, must now turn to their own souls for guidance. It is the only weapon open to us.

Here in France the recognition of freedom of conscience has no legal form. It has been my privilege to focus attention on this lack. My over-all object, however, is to prove to many sceptical, driven-by-violence people in our Western civilisation, the tremendous latent power and efficiency of non-violent means to effect political change. Given this proof, which will in a way establish, I feel, a precedent, my future work will have a firm basis of fact, and I hope others will take hope that indeed there is an alternative to war and brute force.

## A WARSAW CHILD LIVES

—thanks  
to the USA

ONLY Vitamin B could save the life of the three-year-old son of Marianna Drozdowska of Warsaw. None was available in the city hospital and reluctantly the child was sent home to die, the bed, it had occupied for the three years of its life was wanted for other cases.

Then someone suggested that the mother get in touch with five American pacifists who were running a welfare centre in the city on behalf of the Brethren Service Committee of the USA.

The workers gave her a bottle of good vitamin tablets together with a bag of powdered milk and a few gowns for the little boy.

She came back a week later to say that her son was much better. The workers gave her more vitamins.

## He was walking

Recently she came to the office bringing a chicken and some eggs as a token of appreciation. Her boy was walking! Her face, on this visit, had changed. Now it radiated hope and happiness.

Thirty-three thousand pounds of baby food, 600 pounds of cereal, some baby gowns and flannel materials were recently delivered to three hospitals and a maternity home in Warsaw, by this American "Peace" Church, all provided from funds collected from ordinary men and women scattered throughout the USA.

## More atom bombs

In Washington, President Truman has ordered the stock-pile of atom bombs to be

doubled; authorised the US to export \$357 million worth of arms to countries which are prepared to use them against Poland and Russia.

And the ordinary folk in the USA are still collecting their dollars and cents to send gifts to the ordinary folk in Poland.

And in Warsaw five American pacifists, who will never carry weapons, Paul Getz, Verna Rapp, Russell and Bernetta Eisenbase and Opal Stech are helping their fellow world citizens along the hard road back which every Pole must tread after so many years of war.

WORLD CITIZENS WILL  
SOON ENROL HERE

WORLD Citizen Registration Cards are to be issued in Britain by a sub-registry of Garry Davis' organisation in Paris as soon as a workable method of issuing the large numbers which it is expected will be demanded has been worked out.

Temporary headquarters of the registry is 20 Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.2.

This step follows the setting up of a Liaison Committee of World Citizenship Associations at the Stockholm Conference of the World Movement for World Federal Government in Stockholm last month.



—Photo AFok  
American COs demonstrating against conscription in Los Angeles, California.

## News in Brief

**BRAZIL.** Two COs were recently exempted by the War Department because of a provision in the Brazilian Constitution of 1946 which reads: "No one shall be deprived of any of his rights by reason of religious, philosophic or political conviction..."

**SWITZERLAND.** Impressed by his experiences in Britain and Germany while working with International Voluntary Service for Peace and the Friends Relief Service, a young student has returned home in order to refuse military service. He was called to a training course on Sept. 25 and now awaits Government action.

**ITALY.** The Prime Minister has received a letter signed by 23 British MPs and two Members of the House of Lords urging the recognition of CO rights and the release from prison of Pietro Pinna, an Italian CO.

**BRITAIN.** A "man whom we did not believe existed, having so many splendid credentials..." was turned down for no other reason than that he registered as a conscientious objector in the last war," Norfolk County Council was recently told.

**USA.** The Philadelphia Methodist Conference passed a resolution, stating their opinion that the North Atlantic Pact is a threat of war, instead of a means of maintaining peace. They said, "We insist that judgement in matters of state needs to come from men whose skill is primarily in the business of conciliation, brotherhood, co-operation and peaceful relationships, and not from military councils who know no power but the sword."



\*\*\*\*\* Women's Association discussed what should be done with COs in the event of another war

—News Item

NPC

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# THESE ORGANISATIONS FORM A

## The CO and the community

By FENNER BROCKWAY

Chairman of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors

THE conscientious objector takes upon himself a great responsibility. The community hold one view of his duty. He holds another. He dare only put his own sense of right and wrong above that of his fellows if he has an absolute inner certainty of conviction, only if he has a sense that he is fulfilling a purpose more compelling than immediate popular judgment, only if he be sure that defying the present he is serving the future, only if he knows that he cannot do otherwise without betraying the loyalties that command his life.

The CO takes his stand on his individual conscience, but it is incomplete unless it becomes a social conscience. He cannot justifiably refuse to obey the call which the nation makes on him today unless he dedicates himself to the service of the community for all the tomorrows. His life is forfeit to the life of the community.

★

But let us be clear what we mean by the community. To the CO the community is

### THE LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

President: Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

The LPF invites any conscientious objector who has socialist beliefs or who is a trade unionist to join the Fellowship and help in its work.

The Fellowship is affiliated to the War Resisters' International, the No Conscription Council, the National Peace Council and the CBOC.

The minimum annual subscription is 2s 6d, and a bulletin is issued free to members.

The Secretary will be pleased to hear from anyone requiring further information.

Hon. Secretary:— Ronald Huzzard  
64, Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3

### THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

The Committee of the Lambeth Conference declared:

"We can have war or civilisation—not both"

If you are a member of the Anglican Church and consider this involves the total repudiation of modern war by Churchpeople, write for a membership form and free literature to:—

The General Secretary,  
ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP  
1, Adelaide Street, London, W.C.2

### THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Fellowship House,  
38 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

THE FoR, which is a Christian Pacifist Organisation, is composed of men and women who have been drawn together by the common conviction that in Jesus Christ is the true solution of all problems of the complex world-order of today.

Local branches of the FoR exist throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles, and their work and witness is co-ordinated in convenient areas locally, and centrally at Fellowship House.

It is the responsibility of the FoR more and more to co-ordinate within its own life and work that of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, the Methodist Peace Fellowship, the Churches of Christ Peace Fellowship, the Congregational Pacifist Crusade, and the Presbyterian Pacifist Fellowship, and to have a very close relationship with the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Pax, the Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship, and the Society of Friends Peace Committee.

The British Fellowship is part of a world-wide movement, the International FoR, which has a large membership in the USA, and smaller groups in other countries.

Literature includes: "RECONCILIATION"

The Monthly Christian Pacifist Journal. Price 6d. post paid.

The New Testament Basis of Pacifism.

by G. H. C. MacGregor, D.D. (2s. 6d.)

Christian Pacifism after Two World Wars.

by Leyton Richards, M.A. (7s. 6d.)

The Times of Jesus Christ.

by Alan Knott, B.Sc. (6d.)

Further information, enrolment forms and literature lists from:—

The General Secretary, FoR, 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

### THE METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

## "Thoroughgoing pacifists"

WITHIN the membership of the Methodist Church in Great Britain there has been a spontaneous witness against war which can be traced back to the earliest days of that Church.

It became vocal in 1914-1918 in the Methodist Peace Society, and in 1933—during so called days of "peace"—there was founded the present Methodist Peace Fellowship. The Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.E., was its first Chairman and is now Life-President.

In 1933 the Methodist Church Conference published a "Declaration on Peace and War" which declared that war is contrary to the spirit, purpose and teachings of Jesus Christ but recognised that all Christians

were not of one mind as to their individual attitude to participation in war.

In 1936-1937 two stated positions were recognised, the "pacifist" and the "non-pacifist," and these were referred to the thoughtful consideration of the Methodist people "as an aid to judgment on the grave personal issue."

The Methodist Peace Fellowship consists of those Methodists who commit themselves to the thoroughgoing pacifist position, take the Covenant of MPF and so become enrolled as members.

From 1939 to 1945 this Fellowship, in co-operation with other Christian pacifist bodies, through individuals and through groups, maintained its witness against war and for constructive action toward peace. It took the initiative and had a large share in the formation of Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units, but this represents by no means all that MPF did within and beyond Methodist Churches.

#### MPF's special mission

Since 1947 finance and office administration have merged within that of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, but MPF retains its separate membership and a special mission, which is to endeavour to increase the number of Christian pacifists in and through the Methodist Church, and to serve in the furtherance of righteousness and reconciliation in every human relationship.

Methodists who do not belong to the MPF, whether they are members of the FoR or not, are invited to write for a copy of a recent letter from the Chairman of the MPF, the Rev. Percy Ineson, in which he suggests lines of activity for Methodist pacifists, both as groups and as individuals.

Enquiries should be addressed to the Hon. Lay-Secretary, Frederick Mitchell, 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors was established for the purpose of serving the interests of all British COs.

## THE STORY OF T

The legal procedure through which COs must go is illustrated in the following account of two hypothetical cases.

How the procedure may vary in certain cases and

AT eighteen, two COs faced National Service registration day.

For months they had discussed what they should do. In the end George decided to register. Don decided not to, and sent off a letter to the Ministry of Labour, telling them what he thought of the present political situation, that one war led to another, that military training and the piling up of armaments only increased suspicion and mistrust between nations—and so on.

#### Registration

When George registered at the Labour Exchange he was interviewed by an official who registered him provisionally as a CO, at the same time handing him a "Certificate of Provisional Registration in the Register of Conscientious Objectors," and a foolscap form: "Application to Tribunal."

The latter form, George was told, had to be returned to the Ministry within 14 days, failing which, unless he had some special excuse, he would be struck off the CO Register. On this he wrote his statement to the Tribunal telling them his reasons for registering as a CO.

In due course he received a notice to appear before the Local Tribunal.

So too did Don. He also had been registered provisionally as a CO and had been sent a Tribunal application form, which he refused to return. The Ministry of Labour had made enquiries after receiving Don's letter and were satisfied that there were grounds for believing he had a conscientious objection.

#### Local Tribunal

With witnesses who would testify to his character (his mother and his factory fore-

man) George duly appeared before the Tribunal. His statement read; he found the questions difficult.

Questions about his work revealed that one time he had stamped out stencils for labelling ammunition boxes and that he had not refused to do this work. George recalled how he had felt too shy to protest at the time—not then 17.

His mother told the Tribunal that her son had always been honest, and that his rather was a member of the ILP and strongly opposed to war.

"What opportunity has your son had of hearing the other side? The case for military defence," the Tribunal Chairman asked.

"We have two daily newspapers, there are his friends at work, in fact almost every one and everything else around him provides the opportunity," his mother answered.

#### On the Military Register

Nevertheless, the Tribunal was not satisfied that George had a conscientious objection. They felt he had been too greatly influenced by his home environment. His name was removed from the Register of COs and placed on the Military Register.

## Who's Who of the Peace Pledge Union

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The NCC salutes the CBO, honours its fine work, but wishes that both organisations could be made unnecessary by the

#### ABOLITION OF CONSCRIPTION!

The NCC is arranging a national No Conscription Week from February 4 to 11, 1950. Please note the date.

Information, speakers, free literature from the Secretary (Roger Page).

#### NO CONSCRIPTION COUNCIL

Kings Cross Mission Buildings, Crestfield St., London, W.C.1.



# THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST WAR

A number of pacifist organisations are represented on the Board, and the aims of some of these are described below.

## RY OF TWO COS

what happens to a man in the Services who decides he must refuse to obey a military order is outlined in the publications of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors.

"I told you the Tribunals were hopeless," said Don.  
Don's name too had been called out later that day at the Tribunal. In his absence Don had been transferred to the Military Register.  
George appealed against the Local Tribunal's decision. He said in his statement to the Appellate Tribunal that he considered the Local Tribunal had not placed sufficient weight on his statement that he had thought out his position by himself and that he intended bringing witnesses to this effect.

**Appellate Tribunal**  
For the Appellate Tribunal, George armed himself with letters from officers of his local Labour Party who testified to the fact that George had opinions of his own.  
But George's witness was his trump card. He had persuaded the Commander of the Local Air Training Corps to testify before the Appellate Tribunal. The Commander told of George's long arguments with boys in the ATC which had followed the distribution of pacifist leaflets outside the Squadron headquarters. The Commander himself had been forced to intervene on several occasions and from what he had overheard he was convinced that George, although he was mistaken, was sincere in his beliefs.

**Work on the land**  
The Appellate Tribunal asked George if he would accept non-combatant duties in the Armed Forces. George would not, but told them that he had an opportunity of

working on the land and would accept registration as a CO conditional upon his taking up that work. To this the Appellate Tribunal agreed.

Meanwhile Don had received an order to attend a Medical Examination prior to being called up into the Army. He returned the papers and in due course received a summons ordering him to appear before the local Magistrates' Court.

### The Magistrates' Court

The Court ordered him to be taken before a medical board under police escort. On his way into the Medical Examination Centre, the police officer tried a little bluff, "Are you going to take your exam or are we going to use the rough stuff?"

"I don't know about the rough stuff," Don replied. "I'm not taking my medical."

Within a few minutes Don and the policeman had been before the Doctor. Don had said "No" to the question, "Will you submit to medical examination?" A few forms were signed and Don was on his way back to the Court, or rather to a cell below the court-room. There he sat for an hour before being taken once more before the Court, where, after a few heated remarks between Don and an ex-Service JP, Don was sentenced to six months imprisonment.

### Prison

The Chaplain visited Don in his cell. Did Don know that he could apply for a hearing of his case before the Appellate Tribunal as he had a sentence exceeding three months? Yes, said Don, he knew. But if he had wanted to go before a Tribunal he would have done so in the first instance. No man could judge his conscience. What did the Chaplain think?

After four months of prison life Don was released, having earned remission of a third of his sentence for good behaviour.

That night he was outside the ATC headquarters giving away leaflets with George, who was spending a week's holiday at home.

This book will tell the story of

## THE LAST TEN YEARS

**CHALLENGE OF CONSCIENCE,** the story of the COs of the last ten years, which Denis Hayes has written for the Central Board, will be published\* on November 29.

Beginning with the passing of the Military Training Act in 1939, the author deals with every phase and every aspect of the struggle against conscription: in Parliament and in the Army, with local authorities and with the central government; the political objector and the nationalist objector, the opposition to conscription for the Home Guard, for fire-watching, for civil defence, for industry.

The individual stories are told with a sympathy and a conviction which will find a response far beyond the CO movement itself. They are the stories of the "bitter-enders" the men who endured repeated imprisonment and persecution, and thereby won the rights which benefit COs today.

And yet, side by side with an intensely moving narrative, there is a careful and comprehensive record of ten years' legislation and ten years' persistent effort by the Board, such as one would expect from the editor of the CBCO Bulletin, the CO's Hansard and the many semi-legal publications the Board has put out.

Fenner Brockway contributes a foreword which tells the story of the Board itself, of the almost spontaneous inception and growth of an organisation to meet a particular need, and of how that need has been met throughout a decade.

The book includes appendices containing the fullest statistics possible, an excellent index and several pages of illustrations and cartoons. It has been printed and produced by Messrs. Headley Bros., and the jacket design by Reinganum illustrates the variety of "alternative service."

The publication of this book is a heavy financial responsibility for the Board, only made possible by loans and donations and the sponsorship of a large number of friends. But we believe that it is itself a contribution to the struggle it records, and one in which we can all share by making it as widely known as possible.

\* By George Allen and Unwin. 15s. Sponsors' edition, signed by Fenner Brockway and the Author, £1 1s.

## THE LABOUR PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

### BRITAIN

Should work for reconciliation between

## EAST and WEST

By RON HUZARD

Hon. Sec. Labour Pacifist Fellowship

**THE** Labour Pacifist Fellowship is a group of people who are both Socialists and pacifists.

We believe that the progress towards a new social order and a warless world is directly linked with the struggles of the organised working class movement, including the trade unions, co-operative organisations and the Labour Party. The L.P.F. is part of the Labour Movement, believing it to be the most effective instrument for social change in Britain.

At the start of the present century, when the Labour Party was formed, many of its leaders were fired with vigorous internationalist and anti-war convictions. The same was true of many Socialists in the Continental Socialist parties linked together in the Second International.

That the majority in all parties concerned failed to live up to the anti-war declarations of the International should not cause us to forget the minorities who did stand firm. All of these were not pacifists, but a strong pacifist group was present in the British Labour Movement between 1919 and 1933 and greatly influenced the foreign policy of the Labour Party.

The rise of Fascism on the Continent and the suppression of all democratic parties by the Fascist states caused the vast majority of Socialists to modify their attitude towards war. They sincerely believed war against Fascism to be less evil than the conquest of the whole of Europe by Nazi Germany and other Fascist states.

### Labour's "Few"

Nevertheless, a pacifist group continued to exist in the Labour Party after the rise of Nazism and during the Second World War. Up to the Spring of 1940, George Lansbury led and inspired Labour pacifists. From 1940 up to the present time the Labour Pacifist Fellowship has continued to uphold the pacifist tradition in the Labour Movement.

The L.P.F. has no illusions that, after two world wars, any but a small minority in the country or the Labour Party are prepared to accept the full pacifist position. But the building of a real democratic Socialist society demands an end to war and war preparations and an entirely new foreign policy eliminating military power, overseas bases and the old type of diplomacy.

It must not be forgotten that no government Tory Liberal or Labour, could embark on an absolute pacifist foreign policy until a large section of the population favours such a revolutionary course. Therefore the L.P.F. along with other pacifist organisations, seeks to win converts to pacifism—implying a refusal by individuals to support any war, and to resist injustice by positive non-violent means.

Inside the Labour Movement the position of pacifists is still respected. During the present Parliament the main revolt against peace-time military conscription has come from Labour pacifist MPs and others in the Party who refuse to endorse this departure from Labour's traditional attitude.

In the wider field of foreign and defensive policy there has been much opposition to

the Government from within the Labour Party, confined not only to pacifists. Over Greece, Germany and the excessive expenditure on armaments opposition continues.

At the level of practical politics the only hope for a change in this country's foreign policy comes from the Labour Party. Such a change is essential if for no other reason than that Britain's whole experiment in democratic socialism will fail if an end is not put to the growing cost of war preparations, now £760 millions a year.

The L.P.F. believes that Britain under a Labour Government has demonstrated a positive alternative to both American capitalism and Soviet Communism in its domestic policy. Such a lead is as necessary in foreign affairs.

Britain should work for reconciliation between East and West superseding the traditional balance of power policy of the Foreign Office by one encouraging every form of co-operation between nations.

### World awaits a lead

The Atlantic Pact undoubtedly makes this more difficult but the world awaits a bold moral lead that this country is well fitted and able to give.

On a number of issues the L.P.F. believes a new approach could be made, namely, for a new all-round disarmament convention; for priority to be given by all the great powers to implement some such world food plan as that suggested by Lord Boyd Orr; for a new attempt to reach agreement over atomic control, Britain herself renouncing all intentions of manufacturing or using the bomb; for increased trade between Eastern Europe and the "Marshall" countries through the UNO Economic Commission for Europe.

In the British Zone of Germany, Britain should put an end to dismantling and in Greece should initiate steps for an armistice and an end to the civil war.

L.P.F. members are democratic Socialists and are not blind to those anti-libertarian aspects of Communism, but they are also aware of the possible developments of American capitalism that could produce a new world slump.

### With neither bloc

We have faith in a Socialist Britain, believing it has a positive alternative to offer. It should therefore not be aligned to either the American or Russian power bloc.

Members of the L.P.F. are active in various sections of the Labour Movement—in local Labour Parties, trade union branches and in the Co-operative Movement. Some are Party officials, others are on local councils, Members of Parliament and even Peers in the House of Lords!

By loyally serving the Movement and putting our views amongst our comrades in a democratic manner we believe that the cause of pacifism plus Socialism will be best advanced.

We would urge every conscientious objector to face up to his responsibilities in the political and industrial field, and realise that the running of society is his job. Our democratic political system needs its pacifists and COs. They have a vital contribution to make.

## PAX

For further information and for membership apply to: The Secretary of Pax, 33 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

**PAX** was founded in 1936 by some of the small, but increasing, number of Catholics who think that it is practically impossible for modern warfare to satisfy the conditions for a just war, and moreover, that the love which Christians ought to have for their fellows forbids what the Popes have condemned as "fratricide."

Unlike the Association of Catholic Conscientious Objectors of the United States, the Catholic Pacifists' Association of Canada, the Catholic Peace Action of Belgium and Holland, the Catholic Peace

League of Germany and others, Pax is not an exclusively Catholic society. The majority of its Council must be Catholics, but anyone over the age of 16 who accepts the principles and objects of Pax is eligible for membership.

The following pamphlets elucidate the principles of Pax:—

Bombs, Babies and Beatitudes, by Donald Attwater. 6d.  
Common Sense, Christianity and War, by Father G. Vann, O.P. 6d.  
The Psychology of Warmongering, by Father G. Vann, O.P. 4d.

The Evolution of Peace, by G. C. 6d.  
War, Conscience and the Rule of Christ, by M. Fitzroy. 6d.  
A Catholic Approach to the Problem of War, a Symposium. 1s.

The Pax Bulletin is issued periodically.

The minimum annual subscription is half-a-crown, but members are asked to contribute in addition towards the publication of the Bulletin.

### THE PEACE ASSOCIATION OF CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS (British Section)

#### Statement of purpose

An international association for the promotion and extension of a Christianly Scientific peace, the members of which refrain from participation in war. This association functions as a private enterprise and not as an agency of the Christian Science Church.

All those interested may obtain further information and literature regarding the Association from:—

Mrs. M. M. Hyde,  
37 Holden Park Road,  
SOUTHBOURGH,  
nr. Tunbridge-Wells, Kent.

### CENTRAL BOARD FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

#### Literature List

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A reply, in three parts, to the argument of Prof. G. C. Field in "Pacifism and Conscientious Objection," published in 1943 by Cambridge University Press	3s.	3s. 3d.
Part I PACIFISM AS AN INDIVIDUAL DUTY by the Rev. E. L. Allen, M.A., Ph.D.	6d.	7d.
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"THE FLOWERY" (The Scrubs)		
Selections from an underground journal	1s.	1s. 2d.
FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE by R. S. W. Pollard.		
A paper read at a conference of the International P.E.N., to commemorate the ter-centenary of the publication of Milton's "Areopagitica."	2d.	3d.
TROUBLESOME PEOPLE A reprint of the No-Conscription Fellowship Souvenir, describing its work during the years 1914-1919.	6d.	8d.



# What would you do if....?

By JON WYNNE-TYSON

PERHAPS the most common question with which the pacifist is faced is "What would you do if a German (Russian, Italian, Japanese, etc.) was torturing a child (grandmother, wife, sweetheart, sister, the Jews, etc.)?"

There are several replies of course, but only one is unanswerable because based on faith in an eternal, not man-made, law.

[1] If a near relative is being attacked, it is likely that one would endeavour, if verbal restraint proved ineffective, to prevent further harm to the child (grandmother, etc.) by sinking to the jungle deterrent of knocking the assailant over the head with something solid.

But from this measure spring four points to be considered:

- (1a) Such a solution would prove only temporary because the assailant would have another go at the child when your back was turned. Or at another child.
- (1b) You would be proving to the assailant that the wrong he was doing was only a particular wrong, not a general one. In other words, you would expect him to believe that you were right in using force, but that he was not.
- (1c) The assailant might be quicker on his feet than you are, in which case he would have two victims to his credit.
- (1d) If your brick *did* deter him, he would very likely have a big brother; and the big brother might have a bigger brother; and so on.

[2] If one joins a modern army, one would be miles away killing others' children (etc.), not defending one's own.

[3] Although it may be—as one so often is told—"human nature" to defend oneself, or anyone in the immediate vicinity, by resorting to physical force, it is not "human nature" to take an aeroplane laden with bombs and rain these upon the children of nations whose countries, in all

probability, you have never before even visited. Human nature is no excuse for abandoning reason and imagination, for only by the exercise of these faculties can man's destructive impulses be eradicated.

[4] The only answer that statistics, economics, expediency, prejudice, national patriotism and the Church cannot refute—though they try hard enough—is that which was framed in the old rule of "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

That was more than a command; it was a statement of fact. For so long as man believes that might is right, that good can result from its opposite, evil, and that the only way to prove to the next man that he is wrong is to black his eyes or blow him up, for just so long will humanity prove unregenerate and be fated to recurrent wars.

Men always imagine that they have done away with an evil idea when they have killed its bodily expression; but in the end it must be recognised that the only weapon is a set of stronger ideas that have been formulated on the foundational fact that evil, in the long run, will never overcome evil but will only begat more and greater evil, however efficacious immediate remedies may seem to be, and however apparently justifiable.

For the under-20's

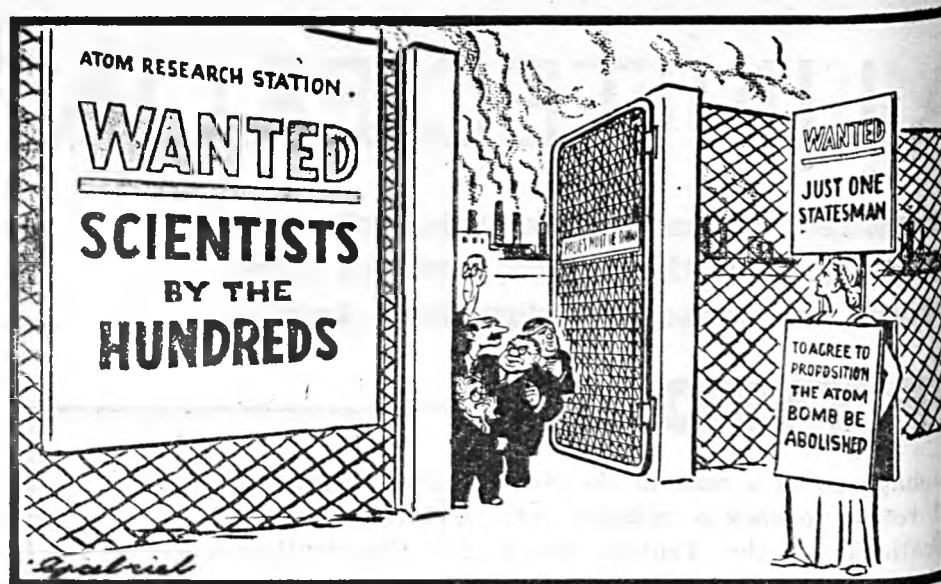
## BLUE-PRINT FOR PACIFISTS

This is the second in the monthly series of reviews of "pacifist classics." The books are usually obtainable from the Libraries at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. or Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. Next month: Vera Brittain's "Testament of Youth."

The Faith Called Pacifism, by Max Plowman. J. M. Dent, 1936.

THIS is a reprint of half a dozen short lectures and essays on various aspects of pacifism; there is, therefore, no single thread of argument and the most one can do is to select a few of the leading ideas and attempt to convey them.

Many men were induced to take part in World War I on the promise that it would end war, that never again would men be called on to fight. The blame for the failure to implement this



—The Daily Worker

### SITUATIONS VACANT

#### The common enemy: war

These cartoons, one from the Daily Worker, and the other from the Catholic Herald, combine to tell the truth about militarism.

We place them together in the hope that Communists and Catholics will unite against their common danger.



—The Catholic Herald

### ROOM FOR ONE INSIDE

## Religious liberty today\*

By JOHN S. HOYLAND

WHAT does religious liberty mean in a country, such as India, where one religious group claims that conscience imperious members to march in procession, with shrieking bands, past the place of worship of another group, during service-time, which second group in its turn claims that conscience bids it sacrifice animals regarded as sacred by the first group?

Is religious liberty to be interpreted as requiring the Government of such a country to allow widows to follow the "biddings of conscience" in burning themselves to death (at the forceful instigation of priests), or to permit pilgrims to follow those biddings by flinging themselves beneath the wheels of the car of Jagannath?

Similarly, if religion is the fearless following of truth, are scientists to have complete liberty in the following of truth for the perfection of atomic and bacteriological weapons, even though the whole family may soon be destroyed by such weapons?

Dr. H. G. Wood, in this important little book, teaches us that in such regards we have got to think concerning our belief in religious liberty.

He analyses carefully the situation which we now find ourselves, especially in respect to the conflict between East and West; and he tabulates the conclusions so far reached on Religious Liberty, as embodied in documents recently presented to U.N. and the World Council of Churches.

He comes to several arresting conclusions: for instance (p.41), "If attendance at public worship be the measure of Christianity, Russia is probably the most Christian country in Europe today" (p.127), "Might not Christian schools in Egypt provide instruction in Islam without waiting to be obliged legally to do so?"

Whilst we may be baffled by the problems which arise out of the task of applying the idealism of Christian liberty on our modern world-family, we shall all agree with Dr. Wood's own position (p.24):

"God appeals, in Christ's name, to entreat—that is the paradox. Any man would expect that God would command. God would compel. But no, God is suppliant. Since God in Christ persuades men may not, in Christ's name, compel. To deny religious liberty is to deny Christ."

"Men may not, in Christ's name, compel": here is the rock on which is founded not only religious liberty, but also Christian pacifism.

Dr. Wood has given us a valuable and thought-challenging contribution to literature regarding a primary outcome of Christian faith. Unless we think out our principles anew in each generation regarding the meaning and implications of Christian freedom, freedom in every sphere will go by default.

\* Religious Liberty Today, by Dr. H. G. Wood, Cambridge University Press, 3s. 6d.



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WAR as now waged is the inevitable outcome of the application of science to its methods; it cannot be limited in any way and it is now a matter of race suicide. If we do not realize this we do not deserve to survive. We must regain control of the machine and to do this we must regain self-control, the first step towards which is to decide that we shall not take part in organised war.

We are pacifists because any other way of life would be self-contradictory and impossible. When we hold that conviction with simple religious tenacity we provide a solid phalanx of people who have already begun to change current values.

Such very briefly are a few of the ideas put forward. But the book is much greater than the sum of these. On every page there are sentences, often merely incidental to the main argument, which start one thinking of new and unexpected lines. The style is clear cut, epigrammatic and packed with thought and anyone who has grasped the full implications of that thought will never be at a loss for arguments with which to support this pacifism.



## SCIENCE, THE ARTS — AND PEACE

## ALEX COMFORT

## Scientists should withdraw from war projects

THE crisis of responsibility in science still exists, and though recent discussions in "Nature," in the U.S. journal "Science," and elsewhere show a widespread malaise among the most eminent research workers who find themselves involved, no clear leadership has yet emerged in opposition to the view that scientists, as "good citizens," must accept the military and other policies of their Governments and attempt to modify them through the normal electoral channels.

The outlines of such leadership as does emerge are found almost wholly in the acts of individuals—Dr. Norbert Weiner, for example, who has withheld the results of his mathematical researches on the ground that the Western governments are not to be trusted with them, or a number of lesser-known American workers who have consistently declined military research.

The comment by Prof. Bernal, that Western research is in the hands of those who are organising an aggressive war, is not true if we take it to mean that universities or foundations discriminate against unwelcome research, but it is true in that the ultimate employment of the fruits of almost all practical investigations in the West, as in the East, is still limited or dictated by warlike considerations.

## Strengthen resistance

The leadership in this situation must come from science itself, and the resolutions of lay conferences can do little more than strengthen the hands of those who are already offering concrete resistance, or employing their position and prestige to present the issues to the public.

Prof. Lewis Mumford lately condemned the avowed policy of indiscriminate atomic war put forward by American military leaders as genocide. Lord Boyd Orr has consistently campaigned for the adoption of a rational attitude toward the problem of food resources. There are definite signs of unwillingness among the lower academic and technical grades, on whom the development of military science largely relies, to accept the censorship or the moral responsibility which such work involves.

The importance of such active opposition is not yet apparent, but it will unquestionably become so.

## Policies of psychopaths

A far more revolutionary change in the attitude of Western science does, however, seem to be implicit in the direct investigation of the causes of war, and of the mentalities of governing groups.

It seems almost certain that, given sufficient time, the conception of scientific neutrality in the execution of projects prescribed by national governments will be rendered untenable not by peace propaganda but by a growing conviction that the policies which the atomic bomb or the toxin of *Bacillus botulinus* are enlisted to support

are, in fact, the policies of psychopaths.

How far it is true that physical scientists look for their philosophy of society to the biological and psychological sciences I do not know, but the impossibility of taking the responsibility of governments for their actions seriously today is unquestionably growing with research.

"Pacifism" in its limited sense is, today, a conclusion which comes from the knowledge of the inevitable consequences of war on civilisation—what sociology seems likely to provide is a far more sweeping philosophy for the modification of society and institutions, based on essential human relationships. Towards this object everything, from the conflicts which broke out during the last war between psychiatrists and military leaders to the Report of the World Conference on Mental Health, seems to

## STEPS TO PEACE CONFERENCE

This important Peace Pledge Union conference will be held at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, on November 5, 1949, from 2 p.m. to 8.30 p.m.

The object is to discuss the pursuit of

## COMMISSION

- (a) Arts and Letters
- (b) Education
- (c) Non-violence
- (d) Politics
- (e) Propaganda
- (f) Religion
- (g) Science
- (h) Social order

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Frank Dawtry

## SPEAKER

Richard Ward  
Harold Pratt  
Roy Walker  
Minnie Pallister  
Sybil Morrison  
Albert Belden  
Alex Comfort  
Wilfred Wellock

Each commission will discuss the pursuit of peace in its particular field from 2.30 to 5, when there will be an adjournment for tea (at Friends House, price 2s. per head). From 6 until 8.30 the conference will resume in full session to hear reports from the commissions, draw up conclusions and a plan for future action.

Every group is asked to send a delegate, and individual members will be welcomed.

It is hoped that one result of the conference will be the establishment in addition to the PPU geographical groups, of groups of like minded people covering at least those spheres represented by the commissions at the conference.

point.

It seems clear, therefore, that the scientist who is also a member of the peace movement in England or America has two main opportunities to influence the course of thought and events—a negative duty to withhold his support and abilities from policies or projects which envisaged war, and to organise opposition and an acceptance of personal responsibility among his colleagues; and a positive duty of co-operation and research in social experiments and studies—to the extent of informing himself on recent work, if nothing else.

The English pacifist movement has a considerable record of social experiment in communities, personal service, and such ventures as the Pacifist Service Units—the co-ordination of such work and its results by competent sociologists, without any loss of spontaneity or independence, might be worth considering. The tasks of the scientific section of the Steps to Peace Conference might well, I feel, be to consider these negative and positive opportunities in as many lights as possible.

all departments of human life must be orientated towards it. But perhaps the affords a clue to my belief that the creative arts are at least as important for peace as any other activity.

The poet, or any artist or craftsman worthy of the name, is in the classic sense of the word a maker; and peace, given the present state of human psychology and the condition of society it has brought about, is a thing which has to be made: blessed are the peace-makers, those who undertake responsibility for the reconciliation of man and man.

## Above all nations

It is clear to begin with that the arts have one point already in their favour as a force for peace: they speak in terms which take little note of national boundaries or even of differences of language.

An English musician may be unable to converse with a German musician because neither knows the other's language; but the scores he composes will speak to his German colleague; and will speak on a different level from that of conversation or even of any musical technicalities about which the two may not agree; they can understand each other in terms of music.

If war breaks out between England and Germany these musicians still do not feel like enemies as musicians, whatever their governments may call upon them to feel as men, and whatever as separate individuals they may mistakenly think they ought to feel as men.

Music, as such, still crosses closed frontiers.

Nor is it destroyed if the musicians are destroyed; the music they have written contains within itself some eternal quality which transcends time and place and the flesh which is heir to them.

This eternal quality in the work of a creative artist which makes him a freeman of the world rather than a native of any one country, and the contemporary of all men rather than a son of his own century, has very much to do with the creation of peace. For peace is a state of mind in which eternal values have their proper place; indeed, it is a spiritual condition.

This is why it seems to me mistaken, except in the rare individual who has per-

## RICHARD WARD

## The artist is a freeman of the world

THERE are many, I know, who do not consider that the arts have any very close connexion with the creation of peace, which they think of rather as a matter for political action, economic study, education, or the practise of a particular religion, and for appropriate propaganda carried on in their name.

It need hardly be said that such activities are important, particularly if they are based on a foundation of right values; peace is indivisible, and if it is to become a reality

sonally attained that condition, to expect to achieve peace by such means as political and economic ones, at least in the first place; this is like trying to build a house on sand, an activity without proper foundation, carried on in some sense in the void.

Whether we like it or no, it seems to me that we have to understand that the making of peace is first of all a question of the

making of peace-makers. It is a subjective matter; the only revolution which will bring peace about begins with a revolution of one's own being. This is where the arts are our ministers. The arts are a mirror held up to nature, and particularly to human nature; like the news-reels, they "present the world to the world;" but not only the outward world; the inward or psychological world as well.

The arts are always ultimately concerned with states of mind, with the nature of the soul, and with the spiritual possibilities which are latent in every individual.

One of the reasons why wars persist is man's lack of imagination, of imagination about himself (which is largely a matter of a sense of proportion or a sense of humour), and of imagination about other persons (which is largely a matter of compassion and of the sense of community, or other persons' likeness to himself). Certain of our experiences throw a strong light upon ourselves and create in us a sense of humour; others, and sometimes the same ones, throw light upon other people and create in us a sense of compassion and solidarity. The experience of art is of this kind.

## Presenting eternal values

For example, if we watch a performance of *Romeo and Juliet* we find that we identify ourselves with these lovers, so that their story becomes our own. We begin to measure ourselves, at least as lovers, against their stature.

But as the play goes on we pass out of this personal understanding of it and begin to see *Romeo and Juliet* as universal figures; they become archetypes of man and woman in love. Our earlier self-identification with them as individuals is lost in this universal identification, and our compassion and sense of communion is no longer with *Romeo and Juliet* only, but with all "star-crossed lovers." The separation we normally feel—one from another, nation from nation, race from race—which belongs to time and place, is transcended, and we carry with us out of the theatre some understanding of values which are eternal, in this case in their application to the love of man and woman.

This is one example of the way in which eternal values may be built into our consciousness by experience of the arts. A wide experience of the arts will create in us a correspondingly wide consciousness of such values, and at last a tendency to live by them and look at the world in the light of them.

## Increasing reconciliation

A follower of the arts begins to move away from the values of the closed and unimaginative consciousness which blinds us to ourselves and separates us from others; superficial difference of man from man gives place to a deeper appreciation of likeness, to an increasing reconciliation.

This new understanding of our relation one to another it would be not only stupid and unrealistic, but actually impermissible to deny in such activities as war.

This is at least, then, a step on the way to becoming a peace-maker; for a man whose imagination is awake will wish to waken in any way he can the imaginations of others. He becomes in some sense a creative artist himself (though not necessarily in the narrower sense of painting pictures or writing poetry), and passes on to others what he has himself learned. If the arts were his teacher, they have been of considerable importance to the creation of peace.

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# READER'S PAGE

From VERA BRITAIN, National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union

**HUBERT PEET** wrote in Peace News on Oct. 7, that Oswald Garrison Villard "never accepted the full pacifist position."

I was under this impression myself until the recent war, but in one of my letters to OGV about 1942 (after Pearl Harbour) I said I believed he did not wholly agree with the pacifist position and received quite a distressed reply.

In this he said he fully accepted pacifism, and did not know what more he could have done to prove it.

Certainly he was regarded in USA as a pacifist (vide The Herald-Tribune) during the World War II.

I do not know whether his position in the World War I was modified in some way, but I believe that like our own World War I pacifists he was labelled "pro-German."

The PPU type of pacifism hardly existed in the USA between 1914-18; there were a few COs, but they only adopted this position in 1918, since America went into the war so late.

When I first went to America in 1925, Oswald Garrison Villard was a great name which seemed far removed from any circle of acquaintance that I was likely to make. Ten years later, my books had brought me the privilege of his friendship, and a correspondence which I shall now greatly miss. Though its tone grew pessimistic as his strength declined, his comments on international happenings retained their illuminating quality to the end.

When "Fellowship," the organ of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, published my pamphlet on Massacre Bombing in 1944, they added a protest which was signed by a large number of leading American thinkers and preachers. Amongst them, Oswald Garrison Villard was the only layman. This act of courage—at a time when official America was busily engaged in manufacturing the first atomic bomb which he could never reconcile with his love for his country—brought him many letters of criticism and much unpopularity. But though age was already beginning to fall on him, his convictions never deviated.

Last May, when I visited Mr. Villard in New York, he was confined to a chair in his bedroom, and it was clear that the inevitable end was near. He accepted the fact with the same philosophical courage as he had shown towards the periodic unpopularity brought him by his opinions. He remained as interested as ever in the projects of others; his last gift to me was an authoritative publication on the problems of the Caribbean which he sent me in Haiti. On my return to New York, he only smiled sadly when I said I should be back in America next year.

His death removes from all pacifists one of their most sincere and powerful friends. The greatest tribute we can pay him is to emulate his courage, and remember gratefully his long life which served the pacifist cause so well.

VERA BRITAIN

Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

## Three nations at peace

THE bringing up of children to hate war seems to me to be one of the major solutions to the abolition of wars.

As a mother I should be interested to know just how some of the members of PPU set about this problem.

I have a pen friend in the Russian Zone of Germany who is a German headmistress. She is a member of the War Resisters' International, therefore our views are alike,



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# Oswald Garrison Villard — A mother's peace plea Flyposting and freedom — Why he joined up Jehovah's Witnesses

and my children (aged 11 and 6 years) have pen friends from her school.

On my son's birthday he received greetings, paintings and drawings from every scholar in one class. There is great love and friendship and interest between these scholars and my children. Their parents write to me and express the desire that their children should grow up in friendship with children of all nations.

In the classroom in Germany they speak of my son and daughter. Sometimes little Russian children go into the classroom and my friend says—"So three nations are living in perfect peace."

The children write to mine in German. I have a dictionary (German-English) and it is interesting to see my daughter trying to translate the letters. The pictures they draw and paint have won my son's heart. He draws for them and I send them. This month my children gave me some of their sweet coupons to buy chocolates for the German children.

Here in England, I hear the conversations between my six-year-old son and playmates: One says, "Let's play at shooting Germans." My son, disgusted, replies, "I shall not play at that."

I do not deny him guns although I would not buy them. He will discard these toys himself as his mind matures in the right direction.

Someone made him a tank. The other day he said, "Mummy, can I throw this in the dustbin." I said, "Why sonny?" He said, "because they kill men." I replied, "If you feel like that, then throw it away if you like." These are small incidents but they give me hope and I only wish that more children of all nations could be friends.

If war threatens at any time before these children are of age it is up to us parents, especially the mothers, to fight against it. We must be determined that our children shall never suffer the horrors of another blood bath. I am on the executive of my Trade Union and on the Trades Council, my spare time I devote to working in different organisations, so that I can make my voice heard for peace. I have no time for the cinema, my work is for my children's future and I enjoy it.

PACIFIST MOTHER

(name and address supplied)

## Preserve the flyposting rights

UNDER the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, Local Authorities are given powers to wipe out flybill posting. It is now reported that London Boroughs have set up a sub-committee to decide upon concerted action "within a month or two." If this takes place in London it will certainly set a precedent for other parts of the country.

No one would deny that flybills are unsightly, but this is one of the prices we must pay for freedom of speech. To operate the permitted action under the Act is most undemocratic, in that it means an advertising monopoly for the wealthy. In politics only the two main political parties can afford widespread advertising and commercially only the vast established undertakings. Ousting of the present Tory and Labour rulers by converting public opinion will be almost impossible if, the case in effect, advertising is prohibited.

All minority movements and their members must oppose this proposed attack on flybill posting at once. We must stop our repeated retreats when our freedom is threatened.

JACK SUTHERLAND

152, Camberwell Road, S.E.5.

## Why he joined up

WINIFRED JUDSON'S conversation with the young airman about the absence of any sensation when dropping bombs on a city (PN, Oct. 7), recalled a conversation with a young Canadian airman in 1944.

We met in a Yorkshire Guest House and he was telling me that he had been dropping bombs the previous day. I spoke of my pacifist principles but remarked that I respected men whose conscience led them in the opposite direction. The young airman replied, "Oh don't think I had any conscientious motives. I was on a farm in Canada and saw a chance of adventure. It never occurred to me that there was anything wrong about it. It was sanctioned by Society, so I joined up."

H. W. BROWN

19 Wordsworth Avenue,  
Boscombe, Bournemouth.

## Jehovah's Witnesses and war

I THINK the following points will be helpful on the question of Jehovah's Witnesses: In brief they are neutral to religious, commercial, and political schemes.

New world conditions and salvation alone come by God's power through his great indicator Christ Jesus (John 5: 22-27, Gen. 3: 15, Galatians 4: 26). Human powers alienated from God's Word are only recognised in the sense of "rendering to Caesar" certain taxes for essential services such as health, housing, drainage, police, and the like; but as for looking to Caesar for salvation and the setting up of God's Kingdom—such would be a fallacy (Matthew 24: 15). Christ emphatically stated "My Kingdom is not of this evil world

order" (John 18: 36 also 1st Epistle John 5: 19).

The power behind Israel was Jehovah the Almighty God, NOT war weapons (Isaiah 31: 1). God alone decreed that the Canaanites should be dispossessed of their land. Why? Because these former inhabitants had become so utterly corrupt with Phallic religion the land itself "vomited them forth" (see Leviticus 18: 24-25).

But for a remnant Israel succumbed to the Devil inspired practices of the Gentiles (Romans 11: 7-20). Likewise Christendom from the 4th century fused the same Babylonian doctrines into its structure—no wonder the "end of Satan's world" sees false religion cracking up with it (Rev. 18).

God's foreknowledge informs that a proportion of all nationalities will survive the end of Satan's system, and be blessed even on this planet by the heavenly administration of Christ's Government (Rev. 7: 9; Isaiah 9: 6-7; Isaiah 65: 17-25; 2nd Epistle Peter 3: 1-13).

Jehovah's Witnesses "love their neighbour" yes and even "turn the other cheek" by patiently as God's ministers bringing the "good news" of "Christ's Kingdom at hand," Matthew 24: 3, 9, 14.

C. E. LEONARD

7 Woodford Terrace,  
Underwood, Plymouth,  
Plymouth, Devon.

## Political partisanship?

READERS of German newspapers occasionally hear about Mr. Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Labour Party. The average German reader consequently assumes that Mr. Phillips is a Socialist.

At a meeting just held at Filey Mr. Phillips in reply to questions argued that the Labour Party was unanimous that, to prevent Germany beginning another war, dismantling should continue. Mr. Phillips seems unaware that many of the factories on the list for dismantling could be used for other peaceful purposes and that many thousands of German workers are unemployed on account of the Allied measures. Mr. Phillips further seems to ignore the result of the recent elections in Western Germany—apparently there was not one individual at the Filey gathering to say that there are millions of Germans who hate war and stand for a peaceful Europe. Moreover the Germany of 1949 not the Germany of 1933.

Four years after unconditional surrender Germany is still without a peace treaty, this country's representatives are not heard at Strassburg or Lake Success.

Believe in peace and you will have peace. Peace can be maintained if men believe in it and make efforts to keep it. Two wars have ruined Europe and the statesmen and politicians should heed the signs of the times. This generation has seen two world wars—if a third war is to be prevented, the fatal lessons should not be rejected. The mistrust of some journals and of the Phillips do not promote reconciliation and peace.

RICHARD HOFFMAN

Berlin, S.W.29.

## Use the newsagents

ON a recent visit to 3 Blackstock Road, I found a noble band of helpers engaged in despatching the week's issue of Peace News, but I was rather shocked to see that a large number of these were addressed to members and sympathisers in the suburbs and country.

We all know that the paper is twice its value if ordered through a newsagent, and I should like to suggest that members at least use this method. It is good publicity, and would save some of this glogging voluntary work. I had no difficulty in ordering mine a year ago from W. H. Smith, and another newsagent in this neighbourhood displays one or two copies.

J. M. A. GREEN

Lyttelton Court, N.2.

## Challenge to pacifists

I COULD not agree more completely with the remarks of your correspondent E. G. Macfarlane (PN, Sept. 16), on the subject of the Council of Europe and the retention of national sovereignty.

As Emery Reves has so clearly shown in his brilliant book, "The Anatomy of Peace," the jealous retention of national sovereignty and the selfish pursuit of sovereign interests is the rock upon which both the League of Nations and UNO have foundered. As long as leading statesmen fail to realise this, the Council of Europe is doomed to a similar fate.

The basic fact which Herbert Morrison, Winston Churchill and other statesmen do not realise is that peace is not merely the absence of war. Peace is not the absence of anything. Peace is the establishment of a certain political and economic state of affairs in the world, the chief obstacle to which at the moment is national sovereignty. In other words, the sovereignty of the community must be transferred from the now obsolescent national governments to a higher, broader level—the level of world government.

This fallacy—that peace is something negative—instead of something very positive, is closely connected to H. G. Wells's indictment of pacifism. Those who have read Wells's "Short History of the World"

will perhaps remember these challenging words:

"There is a widespread craving for something called 'peace,' but no great urgency towards a sane, vigorous and creative life. There is a very considerable element of indolence in most pacifism..."

The establishment of world peace will require some driving force much more positive than a general folding of the arms and refusal to participate in war. It will require tenacity, patience, and above all, hard, constructive thinking and clear understanding of the present state of affairs. Saying an emphatic "No!" to war is only a first step.

H. G. Wells's words are a challenge to all of us pacifists. Let us make sure that we do not qualify for their censure!

R. HARRIS

85 Grittleton Road,  
Monks Park, Bristol, 7.

## Protest

IN my humble opinion PN would cut far more ice if it were not so overwhelmingly Left-wing. Unashamedly bourgeois myself, I believe in humane ideas and actions but not in collectivism which is obviously going to or has led to tyranny. The next war will produce either a bloody revolution ending in dictatorship (in England) or else England will be rendered uninhabitable or both.

I suggest that vast numbers of Peace Pledgers and other people who loathe war and cruelty are by no means necessarily ultra Left-wing. But their ideas and wishes are never allowed ventilation in PN.

The Government of today conceives it has the right to all profits from the people it governs, and the overwhelming taxation has already turned it into an economic dictatorship—a very dangerous state of things inimical to personal freedom or true progress.

We cannot all be Gandhi's. If India had been ruled by Hitler or Stalin Gandhi would have been "liquidated" long before a fellow countryman did it.

RHODA M. CLARKE

Palm Cottage,  
Dittisham, Devon.

## Observe all Commandments

I WISH to express my satisfaction at Miss Buchan's protest relating to "Sunday activities."

I have often wished to help the circulation of PN but regret that I cannot commend without qualification a paper that emphasises the sixth and new commandments and advertises its disregard of the fourth commandment.

PN frequently criticises the Church for inconsistency. Then let us be consistent and observe all the commandments.

W. LUMSDEN

20 Kirkhill Gardens,  
Edinburgh 9.

(continued on page nine, column five)

# Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, October 27, 1939

During 1934 over 2,500,000 people died from starvation and nearly 1,300,000 committed suicide, because of economic distress.

During the same period, 1,500,000 carloads of wheat; 300,000 carloads of coffee; 600,000 cwt. of sugar; 50,000 cwt. of rice and 60,000 cwt. of meat were deliberately destroyed to maintain prices at an "economic" level.

—Figures supplied by World Committee for Relief.

Washington, seat of the US Government, has had its leaflet raid.

Miss Laura Ingalls, an American airwoman, recently flew over part of the city and dropped peace pamphlets. Some of them fell near the White House, official residence of President Roosevelt.

As the surprise flight ended, the civil aeronautics authority issued an order against Miss Ingalls which might result in her losing her permit to fly.

"The war should be stopped before it extends into a world conflict which may last for years, sacrifice millions of lives, destroying what is best in civilisation, and in the end leave a wreckage in which freedom and security are but mocking memories."

So says a statement of policy adopted unanimously by the Executive Committee of the Independent Labour Party.

Of the 215,321 men between 21 and 22 years of age who registered on Saturday under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 4,556 were provisionally registered as conscientious objectors.

This brings the total number of COs registered in two age groups alone up to 8,449—about half of the total during the whole of the Great War. (On June 3, registration day for men aged 20 to 21, 3,893 were registered as COs).

During the last war there were more than 16,000 objectors. Conscription was introduced in 1916.

Sor

DR. JOA

Shaw great influence of y minds of y tion, and th often-repeat has had sc modern life

Most of us through a sta discredit to S fades, that we it was Shaw l find the weak

The latest this man of ti —Buoyant Bi

If it had n worth doing staggering t creation of a it is quite tr piece it would it is equally t the stage's lo

If it is indu duced this pl for us in the gence.

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## LETTERS

(From page eight)

## For the young

TODAY the local Army Cadets held a Sunday parade with their own band led by an "old sweat" with rows of medal ribbons and bandmaster's sash.

When I heard them coming I stood my ground, with copies of Peace News I was selling and a big poster "No war or no world" held before me.

The parade moved on to the place of dispersal and before long several boys came back and four of them asked for complimentary copies of back numbers which I was giving away.

What a pity, I thought, that I had nothing more suitable to give them than PN. I knew there would be nothing in its pages to grip their imagination at the tender age of 14 years or so.

Why not produce a children's pacifist propaganda sheet, something that would stir the minds of the youth in their most receptive years.

When they reach the age of 18 and are called up it is too late; their ideas have been influenced by the patient labours of the militarists.

FRANK E. D. STARK

Kingston-on-Thames.

## For the old

AT my age (75 years) I can only make use of six copies weekly. I send them mostly to the clergy of all denominations. Very often with a short letter asking them what they teach their people, especially their young people, about modern war.

I have had a variety of answers! Of course we are always courteous about it, but I think it's only right that leaders in religion should be asked my question and should not be left entirely at the mercy of the daily newspaper for their news of what's going on in the world today.

(Mrs.) MARY McCOMBIE

13 Clevedon Drive,  
Glasgow, W.2.

## MUSIC &amp; DRAMA

## Sorcerer and Apprentice

Edited by  
Roger Page

DR. JOAD in his recent book on Shaw has paid tribute to the great influence which GBS had on the minds of young men of his generation, and there is some truth in the often-repeated claim that no one man has had so profound an effect on modern life and thought.

Most of us who read at all deeply pass through a stage of Shaw-worship. It is no discredit to Shaw to say that the adulation fades, that we discover the weaknesses; for it was Shaw himself who showed us how to find the weak spots.

The latest contribution to the theatre of this man of titanic genius is now in London—*Buoyant Billions*.

If it had no intrinsic merit it would be worth doing as a museum piece, for it is staggering to think that this was the creation of a man over 90 years of age. It is quite true that if you had written the piece it would never have been staged, but it is equally true that that would have been the stage's loss.

If it is indulging an old man to have produced this play, well, he has done enough for us in the past to warrant such indulgence.

It is hardly necessary to say that this is not a play, and, of course, GBS does not call it one. It has some of the failings we expect; ridiculous names and silly jokes about them, and an unnecessarily eccentric second act with a pantomimic ending.

It also has many of the good things: if many lines are merely re-phrases of previous Shavianisms, what of that; they bear repetition. And there is a due quota of new and topical shafts as agile and quick-witted as any young man might be proud to write.

Esme Percy has given the play a traditional Shavian production. Not everybody in the cast is able to put over the flashing dialogue, not everybody succeeds in building up a character.

The erstwhile musical-comedy actress, Frances Day, need not feel ashamed of her first straight part, though she was a little too consciously striving. She has so much personality that she is well suited to expressing the Shavian life force.

The other women of the cast are like

faded sparrows beside some Bird of Paradise.

Outstanding among the men is John Longden as the family solicitor; a vintage performance, while the small part of Buoyant is also well served by the actor.

I well remember, as a youngster, my first reading of "The Doctor's Dilemma," how I judged the last act to be anti-climax, and how gratified I was later to discover that the great William Archer thought exactly the same. I hope the spirit of Archer will agree with me that *Buoyant Billions* does not begin until the second half, and that a few lines written in to the third act could give the gist of the first two, the second of which surely ranks among the less necessary Shavianisms.

Because the weaker part of the play comes first you get into a supercilious mood and think the old boy has shot his bolt. But you leave the theatre chuckling and oddly touched. The old sorcerer's magic has worked again.

## LOVE'S LABOURS LOST

A FEW hundred yards down the road is the apprentice Shakespeare—*Love's Labours Lost*. Bright, artificial, superficial; a typically young man's play. Yet a play which only Shakespeare could have written, and packed with trial sketches for scenes and characters he was later going to do so much better.

Berowne and Rosaline are going to blossom later as Beatrice and Benedick; Holofernes is the embryo of the much greater Bottom, just as the pageant he has to give is the precursor of a similar event in *The Dream*.

The plot and scope of the play do not call for the mighty line, for the full swell of the organ which Shakespeare will later use, but there are lines of pure poetry which even Shakespeare will never surpass. There are lovely lyrics, and the crowning stroke of genius in the dramatic force with which we are suddenly plunged from gay to grave. When that happens you do not need to be told that this man was going to write *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*.

It is a sobering reflection that the young Shakespeare could safely write this play for common folk who would stand for nearly three hours to watch it, who would know enough to enjoy its topical allusions and who could take its Latin in their stride; who would appreciate the delicate and fanciful tracery of the exquisite words as well as the gusty and forceful humour. Nowadays, after half-a-century of popular education this is a rarity.

It is a tribute to Shakespeare that this much neglected play, enough to make a reputation if it stood alone, is rarely thought worth presentation.

To my mind this production does not do the play justice, although it has some very good marks to be scored up to it.

It does well with the comedy, chiefly because of an excellent Costard (George Benson) and Holofernes (Mark Dignam).

The setting and dressing, at times looking exactly like a Watteau painting, often

caught the eye pleasurably. That the staging has affectation would not be wrong, except that it is the wrong sort of affectation.

I wish somebody would explain to me why the first few minutes of each part are played behind a decorated gauze which then is lifted. Why there is so much slashing of whips when the thrust and parry of dialogue would be enough. Why Berowne is handled as though he were Hamlet gate-crashing.

These small faults could be forgiven, but it is less easy to overlook the almost complete loss of the poetry of the piece; line after line of blank verse or rhymed couplets were given as though they were an auctioneer's catalogue. Lines of exquisite beauty were gabbled and thrown away. (I except Mr. Redgrave from this criticism.) There was not a woman on the stage who could speak Shakespeare. Diana Churchill may have been an exception, but since I could hear only one in ten of her words, judgment is difficult.

There was altogether too much shouting and acrobatics and, until the closing scene, almost none of the formalism and grace which are so obviously required and which characterised the last London production at the Westminster some 15 years ago. To Shakespeare's credit be it said that this production is still worth while and worth seeing.

The dances were arranged by Robert Helpmann. He either forgot or was not told how much flat stage the scenery would leave him. The dance in the last act reminded one painfully of a crowded carriage on the loop line to Dartford.

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## Notes for your Diary

## Monday, October 31

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Street; series of lectures on public speaking; "Hints on Voice Production"; speaker: Phyllis Vallance; admission 1s. or 2s. 6d. series; refreshments from 6.30 to 7 p.m.; PPU.

## Wednesday, November 2

STOCKPORT: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Middle Hillgate; monthly meeting; speaker: Mrs. H. M. Hartley, Cheshire Hulme; "Report of WIL International Conference held at Copenhagen, August, 1949"; Chairman: Rev. Philip Hume; No Conscience Council.

DULWICH: 8 p.m. Dulwich Grove Congregational Church, corner Melbourne Grove; group meeting; Dulwich PPU.

## Thursday, November 3

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

CAMBRIDGE: 8.30 p.m. Mill Lane Lecture Rooms; Public meeting; Dr. Charles Raven; For.

SUTTON: 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Worcester Gardens; meeting; CBCO.

## Friday, November 4

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Street; "Role of Individuality"; Michael Tippett; Central London PPU Group.

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Hugh Faulkner; For.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Upper Lattimore Road; "A Quaker looks at four years of Labour Rule"; Cyril Dumbleton, MP; For.

WEST & EAST HAM: 7.45 p.m. Barclay Hall, Green Street, E.7. Annual CO week reunion; speaker: all COs invited; Advisory Bureau for COs.

## Sunday, November 6

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square; Dick Sheppard Memorial Meeting; speakers: Sybil Thorneike, Vera Brittain and others; PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

HIGHBURY CORNER: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Islington PPU.

## Monday, November 7

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. Town Hall, Havestock Hill; public meeting; Emrys Hughes, MP, and Vera Brittain; Chairman: Sybil Morrison; PPU.

## Wednesday, November 9

RAMSGATE: Evening meeting; speaker: Rev. Clifford Macquire; details from 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1; For.

## Thursday, November 10

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

## Friday, November 11

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; series "Authority and the Individual"; "Individual and Social Ethics"; speaker: Trevor Davies; Central London PPU.

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Note to Newsagent—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 3d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 3 Blackstock Road, London N.4.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

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WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

## ACCOMMODATION

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SPEAKING & WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

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## LITERATURE, &amp;c.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

THE LATEST books, pamphlets and periodicals (whether or not reviewed in Peace News) are always available from your own Booksellers, Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. Send a.s.e. for latest list.

## PERSONAL

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EDITORIAL SECRETARY for Peace News. Shorthand-typing and knowledge of office routine essential. Enthusiasm for the Peace Cause advisable. Apply in writing to The Editor, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

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As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

## Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.1: 7.45 p.m. Weigh House, Avery Street, off Oxford Street; James Joyce on "U.S. and Us"; E. A. de Vere on "Germany in Search of World Citizenship"; Chairman: Dr. A. D. Holden; World Citizenship Movement.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; "Control and Initiative"; Hugh Brock; Central London PPU Group.

TINBRIDGE WELLS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Grosvenor Park; Public meeting; speaker: Dr. Alex Wood; "Assia and Ourselves"; For and Society of Friends.

LOUGHBOROUGH: 3.15 p.m. Shelthorpe Free Church, Parklands Drive; "Bring up Buy Sale"; and public meeting; speaker: Stuart Morris; PPU and North Midland CBCO.

COLCHESTER: 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Area Conference for North Essex; Lettice Jowett; For.

## Sunday, October 30

LONDON, E.3: 6.30 p.m. Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, Bow; Evening service followed by social time; "Does Conscience Matter"; preacher: Rev. Claud Colman; Kingsley Hall.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m. Open-air meeting.

HIGHBURY CORNER: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Islington PPU.



## SIXTH FORM BOYS TOLD "DON'T DESPAIR"

POTENTIALITIES of modern war are terrifying, but there should be no despair about the part the individual could play in history, John Ferguson, lecturer at the University of Durham and member of the FoR, told a conference of sixth forms, organised by the Council for World Education in World Citizenship in Hull recently.

Discussing the Christian attitude to war, he said, "It is difficult to understand how anyone can participate in war, even in the name of collective security, and still profess to follow the Master, who said we were to love our enemies."

John Ferguson, who is also a member of the UNA executive, said the Atlantic Pact, a defensive alliance against outside attack, did not begin to solve the problem of international security, because it had nothing to say about the possibility—perhaps in the distant future—of an act of aggression by America or the U.K. The United Nations had said that if the Great Powers were not agreed, there could be no alternative security.

The conference, reports the Hull Daily Mail, was on the general theme of the foundations of peace and continued with discussions on world health, food and famine.

## CONSCRIPTION CONFLICT

By Denis Hayes

"... incontestably the most authoritative survey of the controversies which surged around military compulsion in Britain. . . —FENNER BROCKWAY

"The survey is so well done that this book can certainly be described as the standard work on the subject. . . This is a book for the library shelf, at hand for reference, but it is also often exciting, proving that conflict in ideas can be no less thrilling than physical conflicts." —FABIAN NEWS

"Taking no sides, it puts the case for and against conscription with scrupulous fairness. It is well to study such a book as this."

—LIVERPOOL DAILY POST

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SHEPPARD PRESS

## CRANKS?

Anti-Vivisectionists are often regarded as cranks. So are Pacifists, so were the early Christians, and pioneers in many other fields of endeavour have been similarly labelled.

Yet the opposition to the practice of conducting painful experiments on living animals is not based on sentiment or prejudice, but on firm grounds of morality and reason. If you have never studied this question, why not do so now? It is no small matter, for there were 1,530,417 of these experiments in Great Britain last year.

Justice to animals walks hand in hand with justice to man.

Write for free information to

BRITISH UNION for the ABOLITION of VIVISECTION  
(B.U.A.V.), 47, Whitehall, London, S.W.1.

## Pacifist challenge to Communist peace rally

OVER a thousand people attended the British Peace Committee's Rally held in St. Pancras Town Hall last Sunday at which representatives from the Soviet Union were present.

A correspondent writes:

If one were to judge the week-end conference organised by the British Peace Committee by the speeches given at St. Pancras Town Hall on Sunday evening, it would appear that there was no policy for preventing war and promoting peace other than establishing the fact that if war comes it will not be the fault of the Soviet Union.

Sybil Morrison, the only pacifist on the platform, exhorted the audience—if they didn't want a war—to let the Government

know that they would not take part in war preparation or ever again fight in a war.

There was a roar of applause when she said that in her view the idea of Communism would not be destroyed by killing Communists; when the ovation died away she remarked that by the same token neither would the idea of capitalism be destroyed by killing the wicked capitalists. This was received in cold and deathly silence!

She asked the audience to go away from this great meeting determined to take the first step towards peace by renouncing war—not only with Russia but with any country anywhere, at any time, and to build up a great movement of ordinary people who would say "No" to war.

## Soviet's 7 million dead

The Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences in the USSR, Academician Volgin, told the week-end conference that his country had lost seven million lives in the last war and said:

"The Soviet people are in the front rank of the great movement for peace, a movement inspired by a great idea, near and comprehensible to the common people."

"It is not by fear that we are moved in our fight against war. We do not need war. We hold dear the lives of the people who, by their peaceful labour, create so much that is marvellous and that is necessary."

## ABOUT OURSELVES

PEACE NEWS circulates in almost every country, including those behind the so-called "Iron-Curtain," and in almost every country has correspondents who contribute news and comments of the world-wide peace movement.

Whilst many fine periodicals circulate amongst pacifists, Peace News endeavours to present pacifism in a way that will attract "the man in the street." News of peace and re-construction ignored by the popular Press finds a place in Peace News.

## Biggest PN since 1940

Not since 1940 has PN been as big as it is today.

This special issue has been made possible by the co-operation of the leading British pacifist organisations and the knowledge that many of our readers will go out on to the streets to sell the extra copies which have been printed.

In 1950 we want to bring out an eight-page paper every week; even then we shall find it difficult to give all the news of the pacifist movement's greatly increased activity throughout the world.

Our plans for the future are based on the assumption that all our readers in all countries will be working in our circulation department.

## How you can help

But right now: Can you order a few extra copies of this issue and pass them on to friends? We will supply them at the special rate of 1s. 6d. doz. for this purpose.

Is there a meeting taking place next week at which you can sell PN?

Can you sell a few more copies in your factory, office, Army camp or RAF station?

Can you sell outside the gates of a nearby factory during the lunch-hour?

Does your newsagent display a copy on his counter? Can you guarantee to buy an unsold copy at the end of each week if he will display one?

## JAPAN JOURNEY

Pressure on our space has made it necessary to hold over the first of these weekly letters until next week, also the report of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship's Annual Meeting.

Sybil Morrison's

## CAMPAIGN COLUMN

"Conscience in the soul is the root of all courage. If a man would be brave, let him learn to obey his conscience."

—Carlyle

LAST week at Lincoln's Inn Fields a young Dutchman told the crowd that he had been a conscientious objector before the outbreak of the second World War, but that when his country was invaded and the Nazis began to impose their National Socialist regime upon his people, he felt impelled to join the underground resistance movement. This meant engaging in the sabotage of factories and offices, and in the end he found himself called upon to kill some Germans with his own hands. "What would you have done?" he asked me.

My answer was, and is, that I don't know what I would have done. Which is not the same as saying that I don't know what I ought to have done. None of us, I suppose, are so sure of ourselves that we can say with certainty what our actions would be under any given circumstances or conditions, particularly if to follow the instinct of one's conscience required great physical courage.

In this country we have not known the horrors and distresses of foreign occupation, though we have known our own tyrannies, and in the past, brave pioneers have resisted them even through torture to death. Which of us could say that we know what we would have done differently from this young Dutchman, who seemed haggard and distraught as he told his tragic tale?

But the moral choice for the conscientious objector is clear; there is only one life that we have the right to sacrifice and that is our own. If the courage to make that choice is lacking at the testing time it is not for us, who have not been tried, to condemn, but to understand and to learn from the experience of history.

The fact is that the resistance movements in the occupied countries did not liberate those countries, but that does not mean that liberation could, therefore, only come by the continuation of war. Liberation might have been achieved if, instead of only a small minority there had been a large minority determined on resistance, not by underground violence, but by open non-violence.

That this might mean death or torture is true, but members of underground resistance movements take that risk with every move they make; their courage is reinforced by their belief that they may be undermining the enemy's morale and so preparing the way for his defeat.

The courage not to kill is a different kind of courage; the belief that non-violent resistance may be undermining the whole structure of war tyranny, is a different kind of faith. It is this kind of resistance the peace movement needs; it is this moral and physical courage its members must seek; it is this great faith in the truth of our choice that is the answer to the tyranny of war.

## IN AUSTRALIA AND ARGENTINE TOO

TWO other pacifist journals have stepped up their size for special issues. The Australian Peacemaker for October has an eight-page issue to celebrate its tenth anniversary, and Pacifismo, the Argentine pacifist monthly has published ten pages for September.

Pacifismo announces a forthcoming three-day pacifist congress to be held in Rosario, organised for the Argentine section of the War Resisters' International. The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Argentine Pacifist Association by S. Savary, Ferreyra, FCGBM, Cordoba, Argentine.

## Are You

## LOSING HAIR

Prematurely?



Is your hair receding at right and left of forehead? It is a danger sign that should on no account be overlooked.

Premature loss of hair is often brought about by such causes as overstrain, prolonged exposure, illness, fevers, worry, overwork, and malnutrition. This does not mean, however, that the hair roots are dead. And as long as these roots remain alive the regrowth of a full luxuriant head of hair should be ensured by scientific specialised treatment. So says Mr. Arthur J. Pye, the Consulting Hair Specialist of Blackpool, and the most common "sites" of early loss of hair are indicated by the arrows in the diagrams.



Look at your crown. If you see a patch of thinness there, and the scalp skin showing through, it is a clear warning of hair loss that may soon spread across the scalp.

Mr. Pye has written a book entitled "HOW TO TREAT HAIR TROUBLES," which everyone should read. A copy of this book, and a book of startling evidence entitled "WHAT PEOPLE SAY," with full particulars of treatments offered for the different types of hair disorders, will be sent free to any reader who writes for a copy to Mr. Arthur J. Pye, 5 Queen Street, Blackpool, P65. For your convenience a printed Application Form is provided.

POST THIS FORM  
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Please send Literature offered and particulars of treatments.

NAME (Block Letters)

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PEACE NEWS 28/10/49

## NO MORE WAR SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR GENERAL ELECTION

FRANK HANCOCK

Member of PPU National Council, and of the Society of Friends, will be adopted as Prospective Candidate for EAST WOOLWICH, on FRIDAY, NOV. 4, at 7 p.m., at WOOLWICH TOWN HALL ANNEXE.

## A PUBLIC MEETING

will follow at 8 p.m., when STUART MORRIS and FRANK HANCOCK will speak.

This is the constituency containing Woolwich Arsenal. Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, M.P., Foreign Secretary, is the prospective Labour Candidate. It is probably the most difficult constituency in the whole country for a pacifist candidate, but Frank Hancock has chosen to contest it. He has already fought five elections for the Labour Party, from which he recently resigned.

All PPU members, pacifists and anti-conscriptionists in East Woolwich, and South East London, must rally to both these meetings, which may well be the beginning of important political developments for the Peace Movement.

Offers of help to "Hilltop," Rodmell, Lewes, Sussex.

NOV. 4, 7 p.m. & 8 p.m., WOOLWICH TOWN HALL ANNEXE

(entrance in Polytechnic Street)



FRANK HANCOCK